

Def. Doc. No. 1858

On June 13, 1936, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party announced the "Resolution on the Present Political Situation." It gave a criticism upon the actual general situation and a direction concerning the development of the anti-Japanese movement.

The following is the full text:

XIV. The Resolution on the Present Political Situation.

a. Our party executed the new policy concerning the anti-Japanese United Front with the following favourable results:

1. Since the outbreak of the national salvation movement by the Peking students on December 9th, last year, a large scale movement for the cause of saving the country by opposing Japan started throughout the country. Those who joined the movement were not only workers and farmers, but also common students, soldiers, intellectuals, shop clerks and some native capitalists. Especially as the Japanese militarism dared to increase forces in North China and encouraged piratical smuggling, many manufacturers and merchants and some of the ruling classes in Nanking, North China and especially in the Southwest expressed their sympathy with the anti-Japanese movement, and they are now joining the Front.

The violent invasion of the Japanese imperialism, the shameless betrayal of Chiang Kai-shek, the oppression upon the



people and the opposition have enhanced the possibility of a grand scale development of the anti-Japanese Front. All the peoples promoted the fight against traitors under the leadership of the United National Salvation Organization and established anti-Japanese and anti-traitors organizations. A great mass movement is being planned at present among the peoples in North China, especially among intellectual peoples.

The lower class soldiers of the 29th army are extremely indignant avowing publicly their refusal to withdraw in any eventuality. They are plotting to disobey orders from their superiors. Individual politicians also are conferring on the present crisis with the influential people in Peiping. In short, there is a big possibility of touching off a grand scale armed anti-Japanese movement in North China. In addition, the armies in Shansi, the Northeast, and some followers of Liu Hsiang are showing uneasiness with the possibility of their siding with the anti-Japanese front.

Special mention must be made to the following facts: The Southwest army, confronted with unfavorable oppressions and inspired by the movement, sent a circular telegram on May 26 to the effect that they were against the increase of Japanese forces in North China. Following this, two more telegrams were sent to Nanking urging the anti-Japanese war. On 7th of the same month they sent a circular telegram throughout the country

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notifying the change of their name from Kuang-si and Canton Armies, to the first and fourth group Armies of the Revolutionary Anti-Japanese National Salvation Army of China. Those armies immediately started the north ward movement and have already advanced to Hengchow in Hunan. Special mention must be made also to the fact that since we proposed on August 1 last year to organize a United National Defense Government and the Anti-Japanese United Army, comprising all parties and the whole people we have sent frequent circular telegrams advocating of civil wars, and the calling of the general conference of the representatives of the Anti-Japanese National Salvation movements of the whole country. Especially on May 5 our party and its leaders Mao Tse-tung and Chu-To sent a circular telegram strongly advocating the cessation of internal strifes, the opening of a conference for mutual concessions and a united anti-Japanese war. These arguments were fervently supported by the powerful elements in the armies and the people as a whole. They contributed much to the advancement of the movement. Now the main forces of the Red Army in Shensi and Sikang, the guerrilla troops throughout the country and the Peoples' Revolutionary Army in the Northeast have indicated smooth developments to become central powers of the whole anti-Japanese Army.

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The nation wide racial war has broken out in the Southwest region situated far from the military base of the Japanese imperialism. We must recognize the fact that the present war initiated by the Southwestern Military Administrative authorities is not a genuine militaristic civil war, but has the significance of a racial revolution. It is in one sense a war against the leader of traitors. Chiang Kai-shek, though it is hard to distinguish the anti-Japanese war from the Anti-Chiang war. If all the people adopt the new policy of our Party with the aid and protection of the Anti-Japanese United Front, the present war will develop into a real and powerful national war. Regardless of whether it is before or after the outbreak of the war, we must adopt the most appropriate measure for the promotion, support and enlargement of this war. For the masses, we must repeat the mission entrusted to the Government and the Army, and mobilize all the anti-traitors forces in order to establish a proper government and an army around the Soviet Peoples Republic and the Anti-Japanese Red Army.

黨中央「目前政治情勢決議」(一九三六、六一三)

一、我が黨ハ反日統一戦線ノ新策略ヲ執行シテ左ノ如キ好結果ヲ得タ第
ニ昨年十二月九日北平學生ガ救運動ヲ起シテ以來廣ク全國ニ反日救
國運動ガ勃興シタ此ノ運動ニ參加スルモノハ唯ニ工人農民ナラズ一
般學生、士族、智識階級分子、商店員並ニ一部ノ民族資産階級デアル
等ニ最近日本帝國主義ガ華北ニ増兵シ海賊式ノ密輸ヲ勵行スルコト
ニヨリ多數ノ商工業者並ニ南京華北特ニ西南ノ一部統治階級ハ全國
民衆ノ反日救亡運動ニ同情シ俄ニ反日統一戦線ニ參加シツツアル。
日本帝國主義ノ狂暴極マル侵略ト國賊蔣介石ノ無恥ナ賣國並ニ民衆
ト反對分子ニ對スル壓迫ハ却ツテ正ニ全國反日戦線發展ノ可能ヲ此
ノ上モナク強化シ全國ノ反日救國人民ハ已ニ統一的救亡組織ノ指導
ニヨリ反漢奸ノ闘争ヲ進メ鞏固ナル反日反漢奸ノ組織ヲ建設シタ現
ニ華北民衆就中智識階級間ニ於テハ大ナル群衆運動ヲ計畫シツツア
リ。

二十九軍ノ下級軍官士兵モ極度ニ憤慨シテ如何ナルコトアルモ撤兵ヒ
ズト宣言シ上級命令ニ服從ヒザルコトヲ考ヘテ居ル政界ノ個人間ニモ
己ニ北平ノ有力者ト如何ナル方法ニ依リ刻下危局ニ處スベキカヲ商議
シツツアリ要スルニ華北ニ於テ偉大ナル武裝抗日運動ヲ發動スルノ可
能性ハ充分ニ有ル此ノ外山西軍、東北軍四川湘鄂ノ部下一部ハ何レモ
動搖ノ色顯著デ抗日陣營ニ轉向ノ可能性ガアル

茲ニ特記ヒネバナラヌコトハ西南軍政當局ガ一面ニ於テ重大ナル壓迫
ヲ受ケ一面救亡運動ノ刺激ニヨリテ五月二十六日日本ノ華北増兵反對
ヲ通電シ六月二日、四日又々南京ニ抗日戰爭督促ノ通電ヲナシ七日又
兩廣軍政ノ名稱ヲ「中華民國革命抗日救國軍第一、四集團軍」ト改稱
シタルコトヲ全國ニ通電シ且ツ即時北上抗日ノ舉ニ出デ兩廣軍政ハ現
ニ湖南ノ衡州ニ向ヒ進發ヒルコトデアル。

最後ニ特ニ明ニシ置キ度イコトハ我輩トソヴエト中央ガ昨年八月一日
宣言ヲ發出シ一切ノ黨派ト全國人民ニヨリ統一的國防政府ト抗日聯合

軍ヲ組織フ、ナコトヲ以テ、以來屢々宣言ヲ通電シ内戦停止、全國抗日救國大會ノ召集、電シ殊ニ最近我々黨トノヴェトノ首領毛澤東及朱德、五月、電シテ内戦ノ停止妥協談判ノ開始一致對日作戰シ、シタ之等、三強ハ全國各軍政ノ實力派遣ニ全國民衆ノ熱烈ニ共鳴スル處トナリ、抗日救國運動ニ對シテモ此ノ上ナキ督勵トナツタ今ヤ陝西西康ノ日紅軍主力ト全國各地ノ紅軍將隊並ニ東北ノ人民革命軍ハ益々順調ニ發展シツツアリ全國抗日軍ノ中心ヲ形成セントシツツアリ全國規模ノ反日反漢奸ノ民族戰爭ハ日本帝國主義ノ軍事根據地ヲ遠ク離ルル西南ニ於テ今日爆發シタ今次西南軍政當局ニヨリテ發動サレタ戰爭ハ決シテ純粹ナ軍閥ノ内戦デナク或程度ノ民族革命意義ヲ有スル戰爭デアルコトヲ認識ヒネバナラヌ

夫レハ第一ニ賣國賊巨頭蔣介石ニ反對スル戰爭デアルガ今日ノ狀態ニ於テ抗日戰爭ト反蔣的戰爭ヲ根本的ニ區別スルコトハ不可能デアル全國民衆ガ反日統一戰線ノ贊助擁護ノ下ニ特ニ我ガ黨ノ新策略ヲ正確ニ

運用スルコトニヨリ今次ノ戦争ヲ眞ノ有力ナル民族革命ニ發展ヒシムル
コトガ出來ル。

此ノ戦争ノ爆發前タルト爆發後タルヲ問ハズ吾々ハ最モ時宜ニ適シタル
方法ヲ採リ此ノ戦争ヲ促進シ支持シ擴大シ群衆ニ向ツテハ國防政府ト抗
日聯軍組織ノ任務ヲ唱導シ軍事的ニ政治的ニ一切ノ反日反漢奸ノ全力ヲ
動員シ以テソヴェト人民共和國ト抗日紅軍ノ周圍ニ國防政府ト抗日聯軍
ヲ建設ヒネバナラヌ。

文書ノ出所並ニ成立ニ關スル證明書

自分ハ外務省文書課長ノ職ニ居ルモノナル處、茲ニ添付セル日本語ニ
テ書カレタル四頁ヨリ成ル

黨中央「目前政治情勢決議」(一九三六、六、一三)
ト題スル文書ハ日本外務省出元在華官憲ノ報告ニ基キ其ノ最モ確實ナ
ル資料ヲ集録シ永久ニ保存スルト共ニ執務參考資料(機密扱)トシテ
外務省情報部ニ於テ印刷シタル「中國共產黨一九三六年史」第二三一
頁ヨリ第四頁マデ、第二三四頁ヨリ第二三六頁マデノ正確ナル抜萃ナ
ルコトヲ證明ス

而シテ右集録シタル資料ハ右原本ノ完成スルヤ之ハ廢棄シテ保存セズ
昭和二十二年六月二十七日 於東京

氏名 林

馨

右署名捺印ハ自分ノ面前ニ於テナサレタルモノナルコトヲ證明ス

同日 於 同 所

立會人 佐 藤 武五郎

REJ.



DEF. DOC. #1859

- I. Decision on the Establishment of a Democratic Republic at the New Stage of the Anti-Japanese Movement (the Central Political Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party - 17 Sept. 1936).

We must secure the people at large and the revolutionary and self-conscious elements as well. Every possible element among the ruling classes shall be mobilized for the anti-Japanese war. The United Front shall be enlarged and our camps and their powers shall be strengthened. It is the necessary conditions for the execution of a large-scale anti-Japanese armed struggle to impel the Nanking Government and its administration to join the movement. Nevertheless, it does not mean to neglect strict criticisms and fights against the false conduct by the Nanking Government contrary to the national interest.

The enlargement of the Communist Party and the complete independence of its politics and organizations and the unity of the party, are the fundamental conditions for obtaining the final victory of the United Front and the Democratic Republic. It is an absolute necessity to enlist party members in the Soviet and the non-Soviet areas by systematic methods.

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CERTIFICATE OF SOURCE AND AUTHENTICITY

I, the Chief of the Archives Section of the Foreign Office, hereby certify that the document hereto attached, written in Japanese, consisting of 2 pages and entitled "Decision on the Establishment of a Democratic Republic at the New Stage of the Anti-Japanese Movement (the Central Political Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party 17 Sept. 1936)" is an exact and authorized excerpt from "the Chronicle of 1937 of the Chinese Communist Party" P. 474, from P. 476 to the same page and from P. 481 to the same page, compiled by the Information Bureau of the Foreign Office collecting the most reliable data from the reports of the Japanese Foreign Office authorities in China in order to keep it in permanent custody and utilize it as a reference document (confidential document).

The data collected was disposed of foregoing text was prepared and is no longer in our custody.

Certified at Tokyo,
on this 27th day of June, 1947.

/s/ HAYASHI, Kaoru (seal)

I hereby certify that the above signature and seal were affixed hereto in the presence of this witness.

At the same place,
on the same date.

Witness: /s/ SATO, Takegoro (seal)

黨中央政治局「抗日救亡の新形勢と民主共和國に
關する決議」一九三六、九、一七

國力を集中して日寇の侵略に對抗し之を糾合し眞に醒めたる革命分子と
純潔な分子を吸收するは勿論統治階級中の一切可能分子を抗日戦争に
加せしめる事は全國民の大規模且重要な抗日武装闘争を實行するため
の必要條件である。然し之によりて國民黨政府の民族利益に反する錯誤
政策に對する追究と闘争を緩和することは絕對に許されない。

共產黨の強大化は共產黨の政治上組織上の完全なる獨立と内部的國
治力を保證するものであり抗日の民族統一戦線と民主共和國をして最後
の勝利に導きしむる最も基本的の條件である故にソ連内非ソ連内に於
て系統的に黨員を獲得することは最も必要なことである。

文書ノ出所竝ニ成立ニ關スル證明書

自分ハ外務省文書課長ノ職ニ居ルモノナル處、茲ニ添付セル日本語ニ
テ書カレタル二頁ヨリ成ル

黨中央政治局「抗日救亡ノ新形勢」ト民主共和國ニ關スル決議
(一九三六、九、一七)

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第四七六頁ヨリ第四同頁マデ、第四八一頁ヨリ第四同頁マデノ正確ナル抜
萃ナルコトヲ證明ス
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